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Robert J. Walker Esq
T.
Francis P. Corbin

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THE
EMPIRE OF THE WEST:

SHADOWED

IN A CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

THE HON. R. J. WALKER,

LATE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES;

AND

ARTHUR DAVIES,

COMMANDER, R.N.

"OVER."



AN OUTLINE

EMPIRE OF THE WEST:

THE UNITED STATES
THE UNITED STATES AND THE EMPIRE
OF THE WEST

CHARLES F. KENNEDY

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PREFACE.

THE following correspondence is the natural and necessary consequence of a work, previously published by me, entitled "Proposals for Uniting the British Colonies with their Mother-Country, &c. &c.," and, properly speaking, is the indispensable *complement* to that work—the proclaiming peace on the high seas to the ends of the earth, being the desideratum in both publications.

But the idea of an immediate rupture between this country and the United States had no part in my thoughts when the following letters were written. It is evident, however, that the *possibility* of such an occurrence must have been, in a very lively manner, present with both writers for many years. It is therefore justly to be inferred that their motives, though previously strangers to each other and widely separated, were singularly identical in aiming to pourtray a course of proceedings by which to anticipate and prevent for the future, *and for ever*, any such interruption of amicable feelings and relations between two countries of the same descent, language, and religion; and whose vigilance, intelligence, morality, and freedom, placing them by the blessing of Heaven and an enlightened commerce, at the head of civilisation, command, or solicit, them to become *One People*.

In the meantime, the question of the *Fisheries*, long slumbering beneath the surface, has suddenly started into life, and has threatened a recourse to hostilities.

6-14-45 H.C.

It may be permitted here to pause for one moment, and to ask, whether any event could have been designed by the wit of man, than this, *more* effectual for caution or for reproof, which, though utterly unknown to either at the time, could more fully exhibit the necessity of the "Union" shadowed out in the following pages.

The wished-for opportunity, therefore, for giving the results of these inquiries to the world, appears to the undersigned to have arrived,—and are presented to the *British Public*, in the first instance, in the anxious hope that they may be deemed of sufficient interest to the welfare of the human race, and to the prosperity of this nation, to induce "The Press" to take up the inquiry in the stage that it has now attained; and in a calm and dispassionate spirit, (abjuring all party feelings, which are utterly disclaimed and condemned, in this momentous inquiry,) discuss the important benefits in the interest of civilisation, and in preserving the Maritime Peace of the world, contemplated in this correspondence.

In the absence of Mr. Walker,

ARTHUR DAVIES.

INTRODUCTION.

IN submitting the following Correspondence to public notice, this occasion is seized for supplying what has been deemed by some friends, as omissions in the practical bearings of the plan; viz., 1st. As to the nature of the scale to be proposed, as also as to the amount of duties, on the productions of the soil and sea, and also on manufactures when imported by foreigners; 2ndly. As to the proportion which the total amount of such duties should bear to the direct or internal taxation of the United Kingdom.

On the 1st point,—the question must be decided by reference to a fact, which has hitherto been kept in the background, if not altogether lost sight of, by the advocates of Free Trade, so called. These advocates have assumed, without any proof, that import duties on articles either of consumption or manufacture, must in all cases, and under all circumstances, raise their price to the consumer. This theory is a perfect fallacy, and has been proved to be contrary to fact in very numerous instances. In order to afford a complete illustration of this position, I affirm, that were a prohibitory duty to any amount, say fifty shillings a quarter, imposed to-morrow on wheat, either in the United States, France, or Egypt, it would not raise the price of the article one farthing a quarter to the consumers in those countries respectively. The duty would be wholly inoperative for raising a revenue, and must be abandoned; not because of its success in raising the price, and thence a revenue, but because of its rank absurdity, in all countries so situated as these three States are, in regard to the production of wheat for their present population.—A state of the question, this, which has been most unaccountably, but unintentionally, lost sight of, by the advocates of Free Trade, throughout the whole of the late discussion.

And in proof of the above line of argument, the fact is produced, recorded at p. 17 of the following Correspondence, in regard to the duty on cotton in the United States. In 1845, there was a high duty on this production of the soil in that country. Finding that it

only encumbered the statute-book, it was repealed: but neither the duty nor the repeal of it produced the slightest effect on the price of the article. So with respect to the analogous case of wheat in France at the present moment. There is at present a prohibitory duty against its importation into that country; but if it were repealed to-morrow it would be found, that as the duty had been wholly inoperative in raising the price, so the repeal of it would be inoperative, either in raising or lowering the price. In short, it is of no use *to blink the matter*—natural causes govern the prices of the productions of the soil, throughout the world, much *more* effectually, than the most able and unadorned debaters are *always willing* to allow. On another hand, thrifty financiers and statesmen are well aware, that “as they brew so they must drink;” and that in levying duties for revenue, or in sailing round the world “West about,” they must not think “*to go by the rule of contrary.*” But this is precisely what is done by the wisdom of these degenerate days.

To have a productive duty therefore, it would seem that a duty, upon an equal scale of ten per cent. (with a few exceptions) on all the productions of the soil and sea, of all foreign nations, when imported into any of the countries included in the Empire of the West, would meet the difficulty; the productions of their own soil and sea being proposed to be absolutely free from all duty within a given period—say five years. The question of a common tariff for the manufactures of foreign nations, when imported into the confederation, can hardly be decided till it be ascertained what would be the probable amount of the duties received on their productions of the soil and sea. But the domestic or internal manufactures of all the States composing the confederation, should be rendered absolutely free from all duty, within five years.

On the 2nd point,—supposing the total amount of taxation of the United Kingdom to be about £50,000,000 per annum, some approximation may be made, in order to arrive at this proportion, by the following process:—

Dividing the ways and means into five classes, viz.,—1st. Import duties on productions of the soil and sea, of foreigners; 2nd. Import duties on their manufactures; 3rd. Taxes on property—all kinds of income being capitalized; 4th. Inland revenue; 5th. Miscellaneous: the solution of the difficulty in hand is simply this, “what proportion

is it advisable that the *whole amount* of duties, receivable on foreign articles for consumption or manufacture, shall bear to the *whole amount* of duties receivable through all other modes of taxation, in other words, through internal revenue?—"It being assumed, *in limine*, that all idea of differential duties is abandoned, and that duties, for the future, are to be levied for revenue only.

Then of these taxes for revenue, what proportion should be borne by property and income, supposing all incomes to be capitalized; and further, whether labour as such, meaning manual labour, should be included in any such descriptions of property or income?

Now, disposing at once of this latter question, it is proposed to consider all manual labour as not liable to direct taxation; but neither is it proposed to exempt this class from all share of the national burthens, in regard to indirect taxation, viz., that portion of the public revenue obtained from foreign imports. The incidental question, of what portion of these duties would fall on wages, is disposed of by the fact, that the whole social scheme here proposed being mainly in the interest of the industrial classes, and for their especial advantage, even supposing that an enhancement of price, (which however is denied,) on the necessities of life would take place under this plan, yet that as a great rise of wages must inevitably follow from the adoption of it, the enhancement would be far more than counterbalanced. Under any given circumstances, the rise in wages would exceed the enhancement of price. The direct object of the social scheme here submitted to the public, however, is to lower the cost of the necessities of life to the working classes; and, as at the same time, the rise in wages would be perpetual, owing to the increased demand for labour in the United States, and in the Colonies, it is assumed that a permanent and very great benefit would result in favour of those working classes.

In another point of view, it is in no sense contemplated in the following correspondence, to detach from any class whatever of the entire community, the idea of contributing a fair portion of their wealth in support of the burthens of the State. Moreover, I consider all honest labour as not only the most productive of all descriptions of wealth, but also as the most praiseworthy and ennobling "*principle of human action;*" from the labours of the monarch, down to the unobtrusive and unseen, but yet duly honoured and protected labour of the very humblest class. Whether

as a legislator,—in the military or naval services,—in a profession,—or in any, the lowest calling—the labourer is worthy of his hire ; and when all are under equal laws, and all equally protected by those laws, as no government can be carried on without revenue, even should this plan enhance the price of the necessaries of life proportionally with the rise in wages, all should bear their fair share, directly or indirectly, of the public burthens.

Indeed, to imagine the contrary, is to lower the standard of morality in a free country like this. Whilst every measure, therefore, is being adopted to promote the well-being of the industrial classes, they need not shrink from contributing a portion of their wealth in support of the public revenue, only let them know what that portion is, which is here attempted by levying a ten per cent. duty on the importation of foreign productions of the soil. Then, rising in the social scale, if it be conceded that the industrial classes contribute a portion of their wealth indirectly, what proportion of the public revenue should be subscribed by other descriptions of wealth? In this “rising scale” I recognise five distinct classes, supposing we begin with industry, and taxed indirectly—then comes the tenant-farmer, or trading class,—then professions, (only that portion of their profits, in both cases, which remains after paying interest on capital, to be capitalized,)—then property not realized, such as annuitants, &c.,—and lastly, property realized, such as real estate, and the funds. Now supposing these last four kinds of property capitalized, at what per centage should the rate be fixed? I shall wait for a reply ; but in dealing with the question of the proportion which “import duties” should bear to “internal revenue,” it was necessary to indicate the relation which industry bears to other descriptions of wealth of the nation, and to classify the sources of the latter.

With these lights to guide us, and supposing the Excise Laws (with the exception of the duties on home made spirits) abolished, we may fairly enter on the question of what proportion “import duties” should bear to “internal revenue?” In the solution of this problem, let it be borne in mind, that, for the future, (home-made spirits excepted,) duties and taxes would be levied for revenue alone.

Now, the first idea that forces itself to view, in this whole matter is, that were these duties of whatever kind, on imports, laid on at a high figure, they would be altogether inoperative, from two causes: 1st.

Because the Empire of the West, when united, having within its own borders all the soils, climates, labour, capital, and skill, necessary to supply its own wants, and to spare for exportation, by far the greater portion of foreign nations would not necessarily be called on for any part of that supply. 2dly. Because the Empire of the West, in the long run, and in any average of years, supplying itself cheaper than most foreign nations could supply it, they would not supply us at a loss. But although this is strictly true, in contemplation of a *high* duty, there may be *some* nations, which, from proximity, or necessity, or from *some* fiscal or social regulations, may be enabled to compete with us in the markets of the United Kingdom, although subject to a *low* duty.

Hence we arrive at the conclusion, that all duties on foreign imports, to be perpetual, should be as low as it would be possible to rate them, compatible with the principle of making them produce *some considerable revenue*, in support of the burthens of the State. *To that principle*, and discarding at once, and for ever, all ideas of differential duties, and also discarding all idea of duties for the protection of native industry, or talent, beyond what are necessary for revenue, it is presumed no foreign nation could make any *rational or intelligible objection*.

Now, taking the annual taxation of the United Kingdom, in round numbers, at about £50,000,000, what proportion of this sum is it fair and reasonable to charge on productions of the soil, and sea, and manufactures, when imported by foreigners? Here it must be borne in mind that ten per cent. has been proposed, *ad valorem*, on the productions of the soil and sea, when imported by such foreign nations; and the question to be solved, is, what should be the amount of duty levied on their manufactures? The answer is, that taking the whole amount of duties on foreign imports at a nett sum, (to be presently explained,) whatever may be the amount of the duties receivable from their productions of the soil and sea, the balance required for revenue should be derived from duties on their manufactures.

Having thus obtained "a clear stage and no favour," and assuming the whole amount of the taxation of the United Kingdom to be about fifty millions sterling per annum; probably by apportioning this amount in equal divisions, half for foreign imports, and half for internal revenue. there will not be found many grumblers on either side of the

water. The duty of ten per cent. on the productions of the soil and sea, coming in from foreign nations, to be applicable to all the nations comprising the Empire of the West: and each component part of the empire, other than the United Kingdom, placing the duties on foreign manufactures on any scale they may deem most advisable, equal to or *higher*, than that adopted by the United Kingdom.

In the absence of Mr. Walker,

ARTHUR DAVIES.

LONDON,

September 13th, 1852.

ARTHUR DAVIES to the HON. R. J. WALKER.

DEAR SIR,

London, January 8th, 1852.

WHEN first I addressed you, inviting your attention to the important inquiry I have much at heart, viz. :—1st. The Union of the British Colonies; and 2ndly, of the United States, with the British Empire; I confess I was not prepared to find that you had already bestowed your most anxious and earnest solicitude on the same subject. It is true that the generous, enlightened, and philanthropic sentiments to which you have given utterance in your recent speeches in the manufacturing districts, had informed the people of this country, that the most cordial return would be made to them by the inhabitants of the United States, for every single step they may make in the direction of a sincere and lasting amalgamation of views and interests in regard to trade, between the two nations. I have now the highest satisfaction in learning that you consider such a coalition only as a means to a higher end.

You also look forward to a great amelioration of the human race to be effected by your nation.

Will you pardon me, if I call to your recollection, when looking to the distant future in the political horizon, and anticipating the mighty sway over the West, sure to be exercised by your country, that Old England takes the lead over one-half of the human race in the East, and that in every walk of civilisation, and in every attribute of improved humanity, she must equal, and perhaps, surpass you. Still, in the one noble sentiment, which, in the recent interviews with which you have so kindly favored me, you have developed, viz. :—"That a time shall come when the human race shall become as one family, and that the predominance of our Anglo-Celt-Sax-Norman stock shall guide the nations to that result," I as firmly believe as yourself: and the object of my Pamphlet now before you being to lay the foundation for such a state of things, I humbly crave your permission to learn from you, before leaving this country, the probable state of public opinion in the United States, in relation to the courses which I have suggested in that work, in order to bind the United Kingdom, the United States, and the British Colonies, in one common bond of imperial legislation and dominion, in a mutual compact of free trade, and in a community of interests, purposes, and social relations.

You will further pardon me, I hope, if I add the expression of my wish, that, should I see an opportunity for doing so with effect, you would permit me to have the honor of publishing your sentiments to the world. Counsell'd by a gentleman of your enlarged experience and official knowledge, on state affairs, even so humble an individual

as I am, may thus possibly assist in promoting the great ends of humanity and peace, and in forwarding the destinies of our common countries, plainly pointed out by prophecy, and the exigencies of the time we live in.

In our recent friendly discussions on this stupendous inquiry, we have both assumed, (as I think cannot and will not be disputed by any unprejudiced person,) that in breaking down the old mercantile system of this nation, in which career of enlightened policy the United States have hitherto gone hand in hand with us; the commercial and national prosperity of the two nations, has received an impetus *for good*, beyond any parallel that can be produced from the beginning of time. What is now wanted, is, to build up a new and permanent fabric of international policy, embracing the United Kingdom, the United States, and the British Colonies, based on *defensive war alone*, and thus to proclaim eternal peace on the high seas to the ends of the earth.

The one great connecting link of cause and effect, here undoubtedly is, the position of the United States. Having achieved her independence,—her march in population, her progress in all the useful arts, her geographical boundaries embracing both seas, all proclaim, trumpet-tongued, that her destiny is in the same walks of civilisation as those of the United Kingdom. We shall meet and compete with each other in every sea, at every turn of the market, and in every shop throughout the civilized world. Our rivalries in spreading our common language, our common laws, and our common religion, will not be less significant; and it is my devout prayer, that all and each of these emulations and struggles for pre-eminence, may be conducted without jealousy, and directed to the fulfilment of the decrees of the "*Parent of Good*."

My objects in my recently published work, so much of which you have flatteringly approved, as being adapted to secure the ends in view, are,—

- 1st.—To unite the whole of the British Colonies with their Mother Country, through the action of direct representation in one or both Houses of Parliament.
- 2nd.—I would show the people of the United States, being of the same race as ourselves, that their true interests consisted in joining this Union, through the same principle of action.
- 3rd.—I would cement this cordial league and Union of the three Empires, by adopting absolute and unmitigated Free Trade between all and each at the earliest possible period, not exceeding five years, it could be brought about, and by levying duties for revenue, on the plan suggested in my work, on all the nations of the earth, except the United Kingdom, the United States, and the British Colonies.
- 4th.—By these means, I would bring these three Empires just designated, into a perfect cosmopolitan state of fusion, and lead them to a unity of thought and action on all the great questions of dominion, trade, the education of the people, and the amelioration of the industrial classes.

I am glad you so entirely concur with me in the necessity of bringing about, in the first instance, the Union of the British Colonies with their mother country, through the action of the representative principle. It would be my most intense desire that this *first step* should be taken, wholly irrespective of the import duties proposed to be levied on foreign nations; and that the United States should be invited to join the league prior to entering on the discussion of those duties. On this point, however, I shall be better prepared to form an opinion, whenever you have leisure to put me in possession of your sentiments—how far the United States would be prepared to sail with us in the same boat. One thing, indeed, is most plain and palpable, viz., that the very discussion of such a topic will set men's minds at work in the two countries and in the British Colonies; and every lover of his country will strive to obtain the mastery in so glorious a contest for pre-eminence in every elevated sentiment; especially those who, being sensible of the great ulterior advantages of the proposed union, (expensive fleets and armies, for instance, being no longer necessary,) would advocate the fusion of the three states, and bring them under one God, one Imperial or Amphictyonic Government, and one Law.

I do not enter on a sterile discussion of the causes, which, from the beginning of the world have brought about the separation of all former colonies from their parent states. I will only enunciate the fact, that all modern nations, when founding colonies, have based their operations on the grasping and selfish idea of securing all the trade of their dependencies to themselves. That system is now proved to be an illusion. It is further proved to demonstration, that the only course for preserving the affection and lasting allegiance of colonies, is by making them part and parcel of their parent states through the action of the representative principle. And you will observe, that in the four propositions above set forth, although the United States are only concerned by implication in the first of those propositions, yet as the making *that step* in the right direction, is intended to lay the foundation for the success of *the other three*, there is here an *intensity* of feeling and interest which demands the calm and dispassionate consideration and sympathy of the United States, in a very special manner.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) ARTHUR DAVIES.

The Hon. R. J. WALKER,
Late Secretary of the Treasury of the
United States.

The Hon. R. J. WALKER to ARTHUR DAVIES.

MY DEAR SIR,

London, January 12th, 1852.

I HAVE received your letter of the 8th, and thank you for the favorable sentiments you have been pleased to express in regard to my country and my humble self.

Entertaining sincere respect for you as a gentleman, and appreciating your standing as an Officer in the British Navy, I have perused your letter with great attention, as also your very able pamphlet on the same subject.

Concurring with you mainly as to the great results, as also in many of your powerful arguments, there are nevertheless, some of your collateral views, from which I respectfully dissent.

You ask my opinion on the following questions:—

- 1st.—The Representation of your principal Colonies in your Parliament.
- 2nd.—Free Trade between you and all your Colonies.
- 3rd.—Free Trade between my Country and yours, including all your Colonies.
- 4th.—An alliance for defence between our Countries.
- 5th.—The ultimate fusion of our two Countries into one, with a Representation of both in your Parliament.

As to the first point—If you desire permanently to retain your colonies, I believe a greater probability of accomplishing this result would be presented by allowing a fair representation of your colonies in your Parliament, extending to those races who are fit for self-government. Indeed, in the absence of such a measure, it seems to me certain, that, so soon as your colonies from time to time become strong and powerful, and their markets and commerce important to you, they would become independent nations.

If we look to experience, or to the character of man, and the spirit of independence which animates him, especially the Anglo-Celt-Sax-Norman race, we find, that colonies will remain such, only until they are able to establish and maintain their independence. Under your plan, however, they would in fact cease to be colonies, taking charge of their purely domestic concerns, by their own separate legislation, whilst fairly represented in your Parliament. In this way only can you hope to preserve them as parts of the British realm.

As regards your second point—It seems to me the interest of your Country, to establish Free Trade between it and your colonies.

To discriminate between your country and the colonies, by taxing the commerce of the last, and not of the first, would seem to be unjust, and calculated to estrange your colonies from you. To tax both, by duties on their reciprocal commerce, would be deeply injurious to both, and place them, to that extent, in the attitude of separate and hostile powers. Such a tax imposed on both, would vastly exceed any revenue that might be derived from it, whilst breaking down at the same time, your commercial, manufacturing, and navigating interests.

As regards your third point—I have heretofore expressed my opinion in its favor. By our Constitution there is and must be absolute Free Trade between all the States of the Union. Next to the education of our industrial classes, this has been the chief source of our prosperity, and the result has been, as shown by me heretofore, in official reports to Congress, that our inter-state trade, exclusive of that between different parts of the same state, amounted in 1847, to \$23 81 cents. per man

of our population ; whereas, our reciprocal trade with all the rest of the world, was only 30 cents per man of our population, notwithstanding the greater diversity of products, leading, in the absence of restrictions, to increased exchanges. This difference, being as 1 to 79, is caused almost exclusively by tariffs, because the freight from foreign countries will average less than from our Atlantic to our Pacific coast, or from most of our cities on the seaboard, to the interior of other States. In view of these facts, we may form some idea of the vast commerce that would exist under absolute Free Trade between your country, including its colonies, and my own. The commerce between the different States of our Union, amounted in 1847 to five hundred millions of dollars, our population then being twenty-one millions. Now if the aggregate population of my country and yours, including your colonies, be two hundred and ten millions, and the reciprocal commerce between the whole was in the same proportion as between the States of our Union, it would amount to an annual aggregate of five thousand millions of dollars. But suppose it to reach only one-fifth of that sum, it would still be five times as great as the present reciprocal commerce between the two countries, and would vastly increase the prosperity of both. I have heretofore expressed similar views in official reports to Congress, and as a step leading to this result, recommended reciprocal Free Trade between our Union and Canada. The measure passed the House of Representatives of Congress, it was defeated in the Senate, but cannot be long postponed.

You are right in supposing, that import duties upon articles produced in adequate quantity, and as cheaply in the country imposing the duty as any other, do not in that single case, enhance prices. Thus, in 1845, I found a heavy import duty imposed by us on foreign raw cotton. Believing this duty to be wholly inoperative, I recommended its repeal, which took place in 1846 ; yet by universal admission, neither the duty, or its repeal, effected any difference in the price, because we produce the article far beyond our own wants, and more cheaply than in any other country. As a general rule, the enhancement in price resulting from the duty, if it be greater or equal to the difference in the foreign cost of production, is equal to that difference ; or if the duty be less, the enhancement does not exceed the duty, as shown by me, (in reports to Congress,) from foreign and domestic prices current, to be the ascertained result in the United States.

As regards your fourth point—I have also heretofore fully expressed my views, in my letter of October last, to the Mayor and Municipal Authorities of Southampton, and in sundry speeches at that place, as well as at Liverpool and Manchester. I then advanced the opinion, preceding the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon, that France was already a military despotism in practice, and would soon become so in form. I further expressed the opinion, that the despotic powers of the Continent would, by military intervention or otherwise, so soon as they safely could, proceed to the overthrow of every free government there, again disregarding the sacred right of every nation to establish for itself, the institutions of its choice. I further suggested, that, in that event, these despotic powers might demand, that England should refuse

an asylum to political refugees, and should arrest the animadversions of your press, upon the atrocities of continental despots. Should England refuse, as I believe she would, thus to abandon the freedom of asylum, of speech, and of the press, I ventured to throw out the idea, that, in such an event, in as much as these despots could not endure the battery of your free press upon their borders, they would make war upon you. In that event, should England stand up in defiance of these despots, in defence of her own freedom, and that of other oppressed nations on the Continent, apprise the United States of these facts, and desire our aid, I doubt not it would be given by our government and people.

I further expressed the opinion that the mere annunciation of such an understanding between our countries, would, for the following reasons, prevent the contest :—

- 1st.—The annunciation of a similar understanding between our countries, in 1822, prevented the intended movement of the despotic powers to re-subjugate the Spanish American Republics, when neither your country nor mine were as powerful as they now are.
- 2nd.—These despotic powers know, that the combined fleets of England and America could seal up all their ports, and destroy their fleets, their commerce, and their revenue.
- 3rd.—These powers know, that, in case of such a war, they must raise the immense means to conduct it, by foreign loans, to be negotiated in England, but not a dollar could they obtain from you, if they were engaged in war against you.
- 4th.—Because such a Union between your country and my own in defence of freedom, and in resistance to the despotic powers, would necessarily hasten the reforms now agitated in England, popularize more and more your institutions, ensure justice and equal rights to every portion of your empire, terminate in this way those animosities which estrange from you so large a portion of the people of Ireland, increase your strength, augment the prosperity and happiness of your people, and render you more formidable and antagonistical to absolute dynasties.
- 5th.—The combined fleets of England and America, aided by such troops as it might be thought proper to land at particular points, could rouse all the oppressed nations of the Continent against their oppressors. Italy would rise nearly as one man, as would Hungary, Poland, and Circassia; the Republic of Switzerland would be united with them, and the people of many parts of Austria, Germany, and Prussia. Even Turkey, knowing how many of her provinces have already been wrested from her by the Czar, and that, in obedience to the policy set forth by Peter the Great, Russia waits but the opportunity to swallow up the remainder of Turkey, that power (already of late so friendly to England and America,) would unite with them in such a contest.

For all these reasons, and others which might be enumerated, it is my firm conviction, that the annunciation of the Union of England and America in defence of freedom, would prevent the assailment of the despotic powers, and compel them, without a war, to permit each nation to select for itself the institutions of its choice, unmolested by foreign intervention.

In stating that my country, in such a contingency, would unite, upon the call of England, in such a contest, it is in part because we know, that if you were overthrown or left in isolation, and taunted by our refusal, could in any event be induced to join the despotic powers, they would then assuredly make their next assault upon us.

In advocating our union with you, in such a contingency, I do not mean to dispute the general doctrine, that we should avoid entangling alliances with other countries. This is a good general rule, but it cannot be universal or eternal, nor was it so considered by the great men who promulgated it during the infancy of our nation. Washington did not consider it as applying, when he united my country, in alliance with France, against Great Britain. Monroe disregarded it, when he entered into an agreement with you in 1822, to protect, even by war, if necessary, the Spanish American Republics against the threatened assaults of despotic powers. This understanding was had with you, through that prudent and patriotic statesman, Richard Rush, then our envoy here, and approved by President Monroe, as it was by all his distinguished Cabinet, including Adams, Crawford, Calhoun, and Wirt. Again, in 1823, President Monroe, with the sanction of his Cabinet, and of the nation, announced our determination, by an alliance with the South American Republics, to prevent, by war, if necessary, the overthrow of their liberties by foreign powers.

Again, in 1846, the Administration of President Polk, with the unanimous consent of the Senate, entered into an alliance with New Grenada, to guarantee the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama against all other powers.

So in 1849-50, the Administrations of Presidents Taylor and Fillmore, with the consent of the Senate, entered into a treaty with Great Britain, to guarantee the neutrality of the Nicaragua Canal route against all other nations.

Here are instances of alliances with France, with South American Republics, and again and again with Great Britain, showing that the rule of neutrality is not and cannot be universal; that the nation should not bind itself by any restrictive resolutions, but that each case, as it arises, must be decided for itself, at the time, by its own peculiar circumstances. Nor was this rule ever intended to be universal by its authors, for it was not given to them, through all times and ages, to foresee the condition of the nation, whether its population were three millions, or thirty, or a hundred millions, and all the circumstances that might surround us, and to judge, in advance, without prescience, by some blind and unbending rule, what might be the duty or policy of our country, in regard to foreign alliances. No such thing was ever intended by those great men; for, had it been otherwise, they would have interdicted all such alliances, by a prohibitory clause in

the Constitution, restricting in that way the treaty-making power. "Peace, Commerce, and Friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none," is the general rule, so much relied on; but as we have not *always* had *peace* with all nations, so we have had alliances with many, entangling us in a resort to war, if necessary, showing that the rule, though general, is not universal. Three of these alliances, we have seen, were with European powers; but the general rule, forbidding all entangling alliances, applies as well to America as Europe; and, indeed, several of our treaties with American powers, involved us in the contingency named in the treaty, in the necessity of a war in their defence against European despots. Besides, you are much nearer to us than Buenos Ayres or Brazil, and we have a much greater commerce and intercourse with you, and a deeper interest in your welfare. It affects us comparatively but little now, what are the present forms of government of Buenos Ayres or Brazil, or what may be their foreign or domestic policy; but the course of your government on these questions, is to us of paramount importance. Your course, in the contingency I have stated, would probably decide, at least for the present, the great question of civil and religious liberty on the Continent of Europe, and would involve the fate of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, and of all your Colonies. Whether you should throw your moral power, and, if necessary, your sword into the scale, in favor of your own freedom, and incidentally, that of the Continent, and whether we should accept your invitation to co-operate with you in such a contest, would be the most important political question ever presented in the history of the world. Our refusal to meet such an invitation, would necessarily alienate the friendship of your country, tend to give you a direction in opposition to freedom and to progress, to ally you with the despotic powers, and thus put in probable peril our own liberty, and prostrate for ages the freedom of Europe. Whereas, our cordial union with you, in the contingency stated, would necessarily unite the two countries in interest, action, sentiment, and affection, and would give an impulse in favor of free principles here, which would ultimately place your government, by your own choice, by gradual and successive peaceful reforms and changes, in that attitude where we would delight to behold and welcome you. In favoring then this alliance in such a case with you, I think our general rule should be non-intervention; that we should not *volunteer* our aid in European contests, nor interfere even upon the call of nations struggling for freedom, in all cases, but that the case should be of such a character, and under such circumstances, and with such allies, as to give us the moral certainty of success, and for an object no less important than the freedom of Europe, and the consequent security of our own institutions.

So far as it is given to me, calmly to survey the present, and to endeavour, under the light and experience of the past, to look forward to the future, I know of no other case, at least in the present condition of my own country and of the world, than that above stated in relation to you, in which it would be our policy or duty to intervene in European struggles. It certainly could not be expected of us that we

would interfere single-handed and alone in every European contest, when the result of a conflict on their own soil, against the combined despotisms of the Continent, might be uncertain, and where a possible failure might put back for ages the freedom of Europe, affect injuriously our own character, influence, and prosperity, and perhaps imperil our own institutions. Indeed, I do not see, except in alliance with you, how, at present, we could land upon the Continent any force that would avail a nation struggling there for freedom, against the combined continental despots. To accomplish anything effectual for such a nation, it must be in co-operation with your fleets and armies, and with a privilege, most probably, of first landing our co-operating forces upon your friendly shores. Besides, the continental nation in whose behalf we were asked to interpose, should have made such advances in intelligence, education, and love of rational freedom, as to have proved that they could and would maintain free government, when the contest had been decided in their favor. I, therefore, confine myself now, as I have always heretofore done, to our interposition, only under the circumstances and in the case before stated. I should act in that case precisely on the same principles that governed Washington in 1778, in our treaty with France—that President Monroe adopted in 1822, in our understanding with England—that President Polk pursued in 1846, in our treaty with New Grenada—and that influenced the administrations of Presidents Taylor and Fillmore, in 1849-50, in our alliance with England, as regards Nicaragua; judging of each case by its own peculiar circumstances, and not by jingling the changes on the words “entangling alliances,” nor by acting uniformly on any general rule, which never was designed to be universal or eternal, and which has been so often repudiated in the practice and history of my own country and all others.

Your fifth point suggests the fusion of my country with your own, including your colonies, into one nation, to be governed by your Imperial Parliament. This fusion cannot be accomplished in the mode proposed by you. The United States of America are a Confederated Republic, formed by, and composed of separate States, with a written Constitution, limiting and designating the powers granted by these States to the General Government, all others being reserved to the States themselves. This Constitution was framed in 1788, by Washington, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, and other distinguished patriots and statesmen of that eventful period, and has not been amended in any way for half a century. All its provisions, save one, can only be changed with the assent of three-fourths of the States, and that one requires the assent of all the States to change it, namely, the clause which for ever secures equal representation to each State, in the Senate of the Union.

Revolutions to overthrow our Constitution, or *coups d'état*, or any similar crimes or usurpations, are unknown among us.

Our people are universally educated; they are deeply attached to the Constitution, the great source of their happiness, freedom, and progress, and would never agree to change it by substituting an Imperial Parliament for our Senate and House of Representatives.

The great fundamental principle upon which our Constitution reposes, and which is sustained by the unanimous concurring opinion of our whole population, is this, that an educated and enlightened people, trained in the practice of self-government, will, in a series of years, select wiser and better rulers, than when such choice in any branch of the government results from hereditary descent and accident.

This we believe to be a great axiomatic truth. We think also that it has been confirmed by long and uniform experience in our country, and that all our Presidents, chosen by the people, from Washington to Fillmore, all included, in moral worth, in exemplary deportment, public and private, in talents and patriotism, were very far superior to any Monarchs, who, during any period of the world, have, *for an equal period of time*, been placed by hereditary descent and accident at the head of any country. Indeed, the history of the world proves the indisputable fact, that the career, public and private, of a vast majority of hereditary Monarchs, has been marked by crimes and follies. That an excellent and justly esteemed Sovereign now may be at the head of this Government, constitutes but an exception to the general rule, even in this great country.

As well then from prohibitory clauses in our Constitution, as from the settled conviction of all our people, it would be impossible to unite us with you, under your Imperial Parliament.

If this union between the two countries ever takes place, it must be by all becoming States of our Union, with equal rights and privileges, by reciprocal re-annexation and re-union, but under the provisions of our Constitution.

That this, if assented to by you, might take place in the distant future, and that it would then be attended by consequences immensely beneficial to both countries, appears to me certain. It would unite in one confederacy, more than two hundred millions of people, each State by separate State legislation taking charge of its own local concerns, governed by a race speaking the same language, of superior intellect and energy, covering now nearly one half the territory of the globe, and diffusing itself gradually over the remainder. Such a country would, of course, command the commerce and secure the peace of the world: and its associate power, moral and physical, would be irresistible. As this great people, by union, by commerce, by language, by moral power, and superior race and education, spread itself gradually over other countries, they, by their own choice, would in time, become united with it, until, in the lapse of ages, this great confederacy would ultimately embrace the globe we inhabit.

Doubtless, many centuries must elapse before this great result could be accomplished. It would in fact be, the *millennium*, the *fusion of nations into one*, foretold in Holy Writ and prophecy. Then, indeed, when all the earth should be united in one confederacy, with no separate or hostile nations or interests, would they all "beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks;" "neither shall they learn war any more."

Such a confederacy, embracing ultimately the whole earth, with one

untaxed and unrestricted commerce, one language, and one Christianity,—all enlightened, educated, and trained in moral, scientific, political, and religious culture,—each State, as under our Union, taking charge of all its own local concerns, and the general government exercising but few powers, under specific provisions,—would present *incalculable advantages for the advancement of the human race.*

A confederacy of the whole world, when all were thus trained and educated, would be much more easy and simple, than for any separate portion of it.

Such a confederacy, based upon the principles of our Constitution, but extending to the whole earth, would have but little to do. It would have no armies or navies to maintain, because there would be no foreign nations against whom to make war; and because, as foretold in Holy Writ, all the implements of war would then disappear, and all knowledge of that destructive science, then be forgotten. It would have no foreign relations to conduct, no treaties to make, no ambassadors to send or to receive, because there would be no foreign nations. It would have no tariffs, because there would be no foreign states on which to impose them, for all would be members of a common union, with free trade, of course, among the whole, as is now the case among the various States of our confederacy. The confederate government might provide a common currency, a common system of weights and measures, and nearly all other matters might be left, as with us, to the local legislation of the several States. The general Congress might have to meet, perhaps once in every ten or twenty years, with brief sessions; the duties of the Executive would be few and simple, its annual expenses need not exceed ten millions of dollars, instead of thousands of millions of dollars, that are now yearly expended in supporting separate governments, leaving the immense residuum to be devoted to the arts of peace and progress. Experience with us has shown, that, under a confederate republic, the number of States create no difficulty in carrying on the government; on the contrary, they increase the reciprocal interest, commerce, and benefits of the Union.

Nor does distance interpose any obstacle, as shown by the facility with which our States in the remote West, including those upon the Pacific, at more than double the distance from our capital as is your country, are happily governed under a confederate union. But steamers upon the ocean, railroads, electric telegraphs, on the land and submarine, (with doubtless other progressive improvements,) are annihilating distance, and bringing nations into immediate proximity with each other. It is clear that if the people of the whole earth were as well fitted for this union, as those of our present States, it would be quite as easy, and much more beneficial, to unite the whole in one confederacy, with perfect harmony of interest, commerce, and institutions, than to disunite any portion of such a race from another, by separate governments. Union and harmony are seen in all the works of the Almighty, and mankind will best promote their own true interests, when, in humble imitation of these divine principles, we apply them, with the progress of light and knowledge, to the whole of the world we inhabit. Repulsion, discord, antagonism, separation of

men and nations, mark the past history of our race, and constitute a record of wars, and crimes, and misery. Whereas the union of all into one confederacy, can alone terminate all rival interests and contests, and produce that universal peace, concord, and happiness of our whole race, foretold in prophecy.

This, however, is a state of things, which can only exist after the lapse of centuries, and after a great change in the condition of the world. The Almighty, in controlling the destiny of nations, does not work by any sudden movements. His changes are gradual and progressive, but all leading by successive steps to one great end.

Whilst I consider the fusion of even our two nations, as a remote event, and to be brought about in a mode somewhat different from that suggested by you, yet it is clear, that the adoption of your first propositions would be *great steps*, all leading successively to this grand result.

In giving you my views on your last question, its solution seems to me so remote, that it would perhaps be best to confine our attention to the great measures involved in your other inquiries.

As regards your request to be permitted to publish this reply, I apprehend that my views on certain points might be so different from those of powerful classes in this country, as to deprive this communication of all power here for good. But if you think otherwise, you are at liberty to publish this letter entire.

Very faithfully, &c.,

(Signed) R. J. WALKER.

ARTHUR DAVIES, Esq.,
Commander, R N.,
&c. &c.

ARTHUR DAVIES to the HON. R. J. WALKER.

MY DEAR SIR,

London, July 10th, 1852.

YOUR happy recovery from your recent painful attack, having enabled you to return to Town, and to attend to matters of general interest, I have lost no time in renewing the discussion of the question of the "fusion of the two races," viz., those of the United Kingdom and the United States. I should add, that under the former, I include all the Colonies of the Empire of Saxon descent, *directly*,—and *indirectly* or politically, the rest of our Foreign Dependencies, no matter what may be the race or races from whence they spring.

On a subject of such deep and wide-spreading interest, I should wish as much as possible to avoid theorizing, and to confine my remarks to such topics, as should open out *practical ways* to ensure the success of practicable and available measures. I own, at the same time, that this method of dealing with the subject is by far the most difficult, and is, in fact, the "taking the bull by the horns." Nothing, for instance,

would be more easy than to expatiate on the advantages to the two countries, sure to follow, by combining our exertions and resources, in order to preserve peace on the high seas. But when you come to consider of the ways and means to bring about that union of interests, &c., here is evidently "a new work." This is, however, precisely the work we have in hand, as is evidenced by the fact that in our former communications, we have pre-eminently adhered to the discussion of such measures as we deemed not only practicable but safe.

In another point of view, there is one topic on which we have not yet dilated; but it is one necessary to be kept constantly in mind, as at every step in the argument, unless the evil to be overcome be effectually guarded against, all measures, however practicable or even safe they may be, would be liable at any moment to be defeated. I allude to "prejudice" arising out of *former* discontents, rivalries, and heart-burnings, not only as between the people of the United Kingdom and those of the United States, but also between the people of our foreign dependencies and both the others. I will here shortly state the kind of prejudice I have more distinctly in my eye, which I am most earnest in deprecating on the part of my own countrymen on this side the Atlantic; and being myself, in *propria persona*, a fair butt at which to aim my own shafts, I can have no difficulty in portraying the outline of the *victim* I am to demolish—should I rather say, the *votary* of the true God I am desirous to worship. Here goes then.

Born and educated in the bosom of the Anglican Church, my father one of her ministers,—knowing no one in my youth but members of the Government, all of the High Church and Tory party,—my family having no friends or acquaintances but of that party,—as early as at twelve years of age afloat in the navy, in the King's own well-known favorite ship, the "St. Fiorenzo," and attending on his Majesty at Weymouth,—ever forward, as a naval officer, in enforcing the right of search,—serving against the United States in our last war, and in North America,—never having in my life, at that period, heard a word spoken in favor, either of her people, her institutions, or her religion, which, from her success in her revolutionary war, were all represented as hostile to those of my own dear family and race,—is it any wonder that I should have been a monster of "prejudice," in regard to the United States,—her government of which I knew nothing,—her institutions, which I despised or abhorred,—or her religion, which appeared based on the principle that her first duty was to destroy the Monarchy and Religion of my own country?

On the other hand, knowing as I now know, the *real*, not the *imaginary*, causes of the discontents and heartburnings, so plentifully sown in the hearts of the people of the United States, both before and during the revolutionary war, it is hard to believe that they should ever be forgotten. I shall allude only to two instances of grievous wrong committed by this country. 1st. The hounding on the Red Man, with his scalping-knife, the very savages of the desert, to destroy her people; 2ndly. The letting loose the hired, detestable, troops of Germany, to fight the battles of the mother country, against her own progeny in the West!

But victory crowned and blessed your arms; and, feeling and reasoning as a man, I heartily rejoice that it was so. "God saw the light that it was good, and the evening and the morning were the *first day*" of man's political redemption on earth.

I leave you to judge whether I have got rid of my "prejudices" towards my brethren in the United States!

It is now, in shadowing out the "*second*" day of this "*redemption*," that I am so deeply alive to the necessity of beating down and obliterating the remains of such prejudices as these, between all the peoples comprised in the dominions of the United Kingdom, the United States, and the British Dependencies. Faults and crimes of the deepest dye have been committed by the former, in carving out the destinies of the other two. In now laying the foundations for a better state of things, and turning all former errors and miscarriages towards the one object of consolidating the power and dominion, and the civil and religious liberties of our common stock, our first effort (as above observed) must be, to shun, as one would Antichrist and the despots of the earth, all such prejudices as would mar the great work we have in hand. I do not allude to any prejudices which may be supposed to exist on your side of the water, further, than to express my belief, that from a multiplicity of facts, of which I have recently informed myself, there can be no question, but that they are rapidly dying away, and only require us to publish our sentiments to the world, in order to exterminate them from the face of the earth.

But I have one consolation. It is this. Setting out in this new career, with a thorough determination to propose no measures but such as there is every reason to believe, are just, practicable, and safe; it is evident that should success attend us, the very carrying out these measures, will, in the end, be the most powerful engines in the hands of Providence, to correct and subdue all prejudices whatever, whether of race, religion, or civil polity. We cannot prevent the existence of domestic civil strife, and religious discord, in our respective States; but our hope is to lay the foundations of a state of things, throughout the universe, under which the various communities of the human race may be disposed to refrain from cutting each other's throats, in order to forward, each, its own peculiar dogmas of faith, or civil government. And this is to be done, primarily, by preserving peace in their foreign relations.

But peace is of two kinds, Maritime and Continental. I will even suppose that the latter is beyond our reach. Let it, therefore, *pro hac vice*, be altogether discharged from this discussion.

Can the combined action of the United Kingdom, the United States, and the British Colonies, when once a Union of dominion and material interests shall be brought about, command, I say emphatically, *command*, by any legislative measures then to be adopted, the Maritime Peace of the World? I contend that it can.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) ARTHUR DAVIES.

THE HON. R. J. WALKER,
*Late Secretary of the Treasury of the
United States.*

ARTHUR DAVIES to the HON. R. J. WALKER.

MY DEAR SIR,

London, July 12, 1852.

IT was my humble endeavour in my first communication to you, of the 8th January last, to suggest such courses as might bring about a Legislative Union between this country, including our colonies, and the United States. In your reply to that letter, I was gratified to find that you concurred with me as to the excellence and utility of the "principle" involved, and only differed with me as to the mode of carrying it out, in one of the details, viz.—the preference to be given to an "Hereditary" or to an "Elective" Executive; for, as for the democratic branch of Free Government, our House of Commons, when elected, is as free, and I had almost said as democratical, as the House of Representatives in the United States.

Whether Washington or London should be the seat of Government of any Imperial or Amphictyonic Parliament, Congress, or Council—whichever may be the form of words chosen—I am quite sure that no preliminary jealousy would be entertained by the Sovereign or leading Statesmen of this country. That city which would be most convenient and central, would be the one preferred by all parties in this country and the colonies. And, as you will see in the sequel, that on suggesting *one* measure to be immediately brought forward for legislating upon, having for object, the assembling once in three years, the heads of an important branch of the body politic, I should propose Washington city to be the place of rendezvous for that assembly, you will easily see that, for my part, I am utterly without a particle of jealousy towards the United States.

The idea of the Legislative Union of this country and the United States, is as old as the times of Adam Smith. That enlightened man not only suggested that idea as the only one that could by any possibility prevent the separation which afterwards took place, but he also enunciated the theory, that it did not matter the value of a pin's head, which of the two countries should become the seat of government. He only limited the contingencies then in his mind's eye, to the one consideration, "which of the two should become in time the most populous." Since that period, the contingencies affecting the main question of the Legislative Union of the two countries, have been wonderfully enlarged and illustrated by the success attending the "Federal Union" of the United States.

If I correctly understood your argument, and the inferences thence derived, in your letter of the 12th January last, you point to the fact that the success of your federal union proves with what facility countries situated at very great distances from each other may combine, for imperial or general purposes of trade, dominion, &c. &c., seeing how harmoniously the various "States" of your Union work for the common good of the whole, in one general government. Further, you point to the fact, that each separate country, so combined by a Legislative Union, may be left fairly and fully in the possession of its own laws, except on such general questions as affected the whole united

countries ; and that the Imperial or Amphictyonic Council, meeting at stated periods, would be all that would be required to pass and carry into effect such laws as affected the whole.

I have no objection whatever to make to the state of the question here developed, and shall only add, that on the several points of the locality for the meetings of the Council,—the periods for its assembling, and the questions to be reserved for its authority,—I am sure, no preliminary jealousy, or heat of any kind, would be entertained by the people of this country. In fact, I am of opinion, that were the question raised, on the one hand, of establishing a Municipal Authority in any one of the four great divisions of Ireland, for domestic purposes, and on the other, another question, of establishing an Amphictyonic League of the countries under review ; it would be much easier, after the objects were explained, to establish the latter than the former ; although the conclusion aimed at in this case, would be *to command the maritime peace of the whole world*,—whilst, in the other, the desideratum would be, to regulate and control the fierce ecclesiastical conflicts of opinion, *only in one quarter of Ireland*.

You will further observe, that the immediate effect of the Legislative Union I am proposing, when once brought to pass, would be to combine in one focus, the interests and general policy of four parts out of five of the whole habitable globe. America, Asia, Africa, and Australia, would thenceforward be united in one grand scheme for the civilisation of the world. The continental powers of Europe, hemmed in as they would be by the maritime preponderance of our glorious league, may be left to profit by our example, and keep the peace with each other as best they may. If ever an universal peace should be proposed by these powers, or any of them, the “ Empire of the West ” would be at hand, to hold out the right hand of fellowship, and to receive them into its glorious confederacy.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) ARTHUR DAVIES.

THE HON. R. J. WALKER,
*Late Secretary of the Treasury of the
United States.*

ARTHUR DAVIES to the HON. R. J. WALKER.

MY DEAR SIR,

London, July 14th, 1852.

BUT why do I rejoice that in your revolutionary war with us, you obtained the victory ? This may require explanation, before I proceed to open out those measures above referred to, whereby to cement and perpetuate the League I am proposing, in addressing these letters to your enlightened mind.

One obvious cause for this rejoicing, and in which every liberal-minded Englishman of the present day most cordially concurs, is, that had Lord North, (trafficking on the lust of empire the nation had imbibed, to her own mortal injury, in consequence of the brilliant vic-

tories secured by the immortal Chatham,) and the Government of that day, succeeded in trampling on the United States, and in crushing liberty in its cradle in North America; such were the ideas then afloat in regard to the prerogatives of the Crown, there can be no question but that the civil institutions of the mother country would very shortly have been curtailed in their proportions, to a degree which would have banished all freedom from the land.

But what do we see at the present day? All freedom of thought and action banished from the continent of Europe, the very pedestal of liberty now reposes solely on the intelligence and on the maritime commerce of England and America. It is impossible not to acknowledge, in this review of the present state of the world's politics, that the hand of Providence is here plainly visible. I go further, and assert that the seven days creation of the world are typical of man's destiny in this sublunary scene. Considering the history of man from the creation of the world to the present hour, it may fairly be asked for a period to be pointed out, at which it has been possible, by any human means, to command the maritime peace of the world, by any confederacy or combination of states external to the continent of Europe. And it is only by the action of powerful states like England and the United States, external to that continent, that such a peace can *even be rendered intelligible to one's understanding*.

Upon this view of the matter, therefore, I take my stand. It never could have been the intention of the Deity, in giving us our reasoning faculties, that they should never rise for instance, from the level of the brutal superstitions and degrading practices of the African race. In India and China their polytheism is scarcely more elevated above the instincts of the savage; whilst Popery and the remains of Paganism in Eastern Europe would again deny freedom to the soul of man, and by the re-establishment of the Inquisition and the power of the Jesuits, make us again retrograde, and bow to as base and irrational a superstition as ever disgraced the votaries of Baal or Seva.

Once more, then—I rejoice that in your revolutionary war with your mother country you obtained the victory. I see and acknowledge in that event the immediate hand of Providence. The conquest of Canada, about a hundred years since, made the United States supreme on her soil, in North America. As well might Denmark contest the throne of Queen Victoria in our day, as for England, after giving her sons the empire of the soil in North America, to have reduced them again to bondage, which must have been the result of taxing them without their consent.

It is not my intention to point out, by anticipation, the successive courses, by which, through seven stages, man's earthly redemption from ecclesiastical and civil slavery shall be finally secured. But this much appears clear to my mind, viz., that the *second* step in this direction is plainly visible, in the calling into existence the nations of the West—England and North America—whose rational existence as independent states, based on ecclesiastical and civil liberty, and on enlightened commercial relations, depends, *not on internecine and unnatural war*, but on an intimate and cordial union and combination

of interests, purposes, social relations, and dominion, to the ends of the world.

In my next, I shall proceed to point out such courses as appear just, practicable, and safe, whereby, under Providence, these mighty nations may be encouraged to proceed in their glorious destiny *without shrinking*. Whether they will or not, their future career must be alike and equally opposed to the despotism and bigotry of Continental Europe, as to the degrading and brutal superstitions of Africa and the East. Natural instinct, therefore, points to the conclusion, that we must either combine our dominion for our common safety; or by remaining at variance, be at length overcome, and destroyed by the powers of evil and darkness to which we are opposed.

Come, then, my friends, let us be openly and avowedly united by a common legislation for general purposes; let us not disgrace or disown a destiny pointed out to us, by God, from the creation of the world.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) ARTHUR DAVIES.

The Hon. R. J. WALKER,
*Late Secretary of the Treasury of the
United States.*

ARTHUR DAVIES to the Hon. R. J. WALKER.

MY DEAR SIR,

London, July 16th, 1852.

IN devoting so much of my time and thoughts to the Union of our common countries, including the British Colonies, in one Empire, I have only one hope, so far as I am personally concerned, viz., That in the conclusion of my work I may be enabled to retire to my native forest, and there pass the rest of my days in peace with God and all mankind. Were I a younger man, I should not have had sufficient experience for the task, which, however, has pressed like an incubus on my spirits, till I had promulgated the views I have long entertained on the subject. Were I older, I could not command the energy or industry necessary to make myself understood. The present moment is the only one proper to me, and that I can call my own, in which it is permitted to me to give publicity to the scheme now for the first time submitted to the people of the Anglo-Sax-Norman stock. I am under the greatest obligation to you for the patience, the zeal, and the sound practical intelligence with which you have devoted so much of your valuable time in this country to the inquiries that scheme has suggested. I am as satisfied, as that I breathe, that the sentiments you have now expressed are incapable of change, by either time or the course of future events, and that they will be cordially responded to by the people of the United States; and I devoutly pray that some favorable opportunity may be vouchsafed to us, to make them fully known and appreciated throughout so large a portion of the world as is embraced by the union of states, we have in contemplation.

I am not aware, that on the general question of the foundations for

this contemplated union, it is necessary for me to add anything to what I have said in my first letter to you of the 8th January last, and in the pamphlet which accompanied that letter. I there shadowed out the first principles which should lead to this Legislative Union, and also a tariff in regard to the productions of the soil and the sea, for the whole of the countries comprised in the Empire of the West—assuming, at the same time, that this tariff would render the maritime commerce of so many states, cognate with the interests, the requirements, and the policy of the general union.

There are, however, several truths of an axiomatic character, which I will here note down, leaving the full explanation and development of them for some future opportunity.

- 1st.—The Earth is *now* appropriated. There has been no period since the creation of the world, *till now*, when a Maritime Peace could be *commanded* by a confederation of Naval Powers.
- 2nd.—Every Nation is obliged, by the law of nature, to cultivate the ground that has fallen to its share.
- 3rd.—The Episcopal Church of the United States, in which may fairly be included the Wesleyans, is in perfect harmony with the Anglican Church.
- 4th.—The hearty co-operation of the great mass of the people in the United States and the British Colonies, is secured, by an interchange of our manufactures, for the productions of their soil, duty free, within a very brief period.
- 5th.—Copying from the *Times*, May 28th last—Nothing is more wanted at the present moment, “than an attempt to investigate the principles and determine the relations of emigration to the co-ordinate elements of the social scheme.” This attempt is now made by our plan, more fully developed in my Pamphlet for uniting the Colonies with their Mother Country, viz., by transferring the superabundance of our population, capital, and skill, to those more favored and fertile soils in the United States and our Colonies,—in order to cheapen the necessaries of life to the overworked industrial classes at home, and to give these classes their fair share and interest, along with the aristocracy and moneyed men of this country, in the waste lands of the Crown in the Colonies.
- 6th.—By this plan, Trade, between all the component parts of the United Kingdom, the United States, and the British Colonies, will be released from all its former fetters, and become *truly free* in every sense of the word.

I now throw out the eight following proposals, in order to cement and perpetuate the proposed Union of the United Kingdom, the United States, and the British Colonies, the whole to form one Empire, viz. :—

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